

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 USIA-06 OES-03 PRS-01 /025 R

DRAFTED BY EMB. BUCHAREST:AFERNANDEZ/EUR/EE:TPHDUNLOP:LG  
APPROVED BY EUR:AHARTMAN  
CU/EE:YRICHMOND  
USIA:JSADLIK  
OES/APT/SEP:WDECLERCQ (INFO)  
EUR:JAARMITAGE  
EUR/EE:NGANDREWS

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P 131920Z FEB 76  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: OEXC, RO

SUBJECT: MID-TERM EXCHANGES REVIEW:/ARTICLE I AND III

1. SUMMARY: US-ROMANIAN MID-TERM EXCHANGES REVIEW OF ARTICLES I AND III PROCEEDED SMOOTHLY FEBRUARY 11 WITH BOTH SIDES NOTING SUCCESSES AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE SEVERAL AREAS WHERE PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN. ROMANIANS WERE FRANK IN ADMITTING SHORTFALLS BUT STRESSED THESE RESULT FROM INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENTS NOW UNDERWAY AND IN NO WAY INDICATE A DESIRE BY GOR TO REDUCE SCOPE OF THE EXISTING EXCHANGES PROGRAM. END SUMMARY.

2. OPENING SESSION: ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN GREETED MINISTER GLIGA AND SPOKE FOR ABOUT TEN MINUTES (NOT COUNTING CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETATION). (COPY OF HIS REMARKS POUCHED DUNLOP-VIETS FEBRUARY 11 LETTER.)

3. MINISTER GLIGA RESPONDED IN CHARACTERISTICALLY FORTHRIGHT MANNER, SPEAKING WITHOUT PREPARED TEXT FROM  
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NOTES TAKEN DURING MR. HARTMAN'S OPENING REMARKS. GLIGA DESCRIBED THE AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM AS "ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN US" REFLECTING SPIRITO OF DEC. 1973 DECLARATION OF PRESIDENT AND AUG. 75 PRESIDENTIAL

COMMUNIQUE. WITHOUT GLOSSING OVER NON-FULFILLMENT OF

OF ALL GOALS FOR PROGRAM IN 1975, HE SAID "EXCELLENT RESULTS" ACHIEVED IN SOME AREAS REFLECT "MUTUAL INTERESTS" OF BOTH SIDES. HE ENDORSED MR. HARTMAN'S STRESS ON DIRECT PRIVATE COOPERATION WHICH YIELDS SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL BENEFITS FOR ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. HE SAID "OVERALL ACHIEVEMENTS" UNDER PROGRAM DEMONSTRATED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND EQUALITY AT WORK BETWEEN LARGE AND SMALLSTATES.

4. GLIGA THEN NOTED THAT MR. HARTMAN HAD "DELICATELY DESCRIBED DIFFICULTIES WE HAVE HAD (WITH PROGRAM) IN 1975" AND SAID GOR DOES NOT WANT TO OVERLOOK THESE AND WISHES "TO DISCUSS THEM OPENLY TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION" IN 1976. GLIGA EMPHASIZED GOR IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULTIES IN 1975 DO NOT "REPRESENT IN ANY WAY A DESIRE TO CHANGE THE FRAMEWORK" OF THE PROGRAM. HE SAID GOR WISHES TO CONTINUE COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS IN THE PROGRAM. HE STRESSED GOR IS UNDERGOING A "REORIENTATION OF PRIORITIES" UNDER THE NEW FIVE YEAR PLAN WHICH IMPLIES NO REFLECTION ON RELATIONS WITH U.S.

5. GLIGA REGRETTED THAT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE "INTERFERED WITH RELATIONS" UNDER THE PROGRAM. HE PROMISED THAT GOR PRIORITIES UNDER THE PROGRAM WOULD BE DISCUSSED DURING REVIEW AND WOULD BE DECLARIFIED IN THE "NEAR FUTURE." HE SAID GOR WOULD FULFILL THE PROGRAM QUOTAS IN 1976 AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR REFERENCES BY MR. HARTMAN REGARDING "FLEXIBILITY" AND THE USE OF SHORT-TERM GRANTS WITH WHICH GOR AGREES. GLIGA ADMITTED HOWEVER THAT UNFILLED SLOTS IN 1975 COULD NOT BE MADE UP IN 1976.

6. GLIGA ALSO WELCOMED DIRECT PRIVATE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS AND SAID MATACHE TALKS WITH IREX WILL LEAD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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TO NEW EXCHANGES. HE EXPRESSED SPECIAL INTEREST IN U.S. BICENTENNIAL AND SAID GOR IS WORKING ON PROGRAMS AS MENTIONED IN AUGUST 1975 COMMUNIQUE. IN SAME CONTEXT HE EXPRESSED HOPE ROMANIAN CENTENNIAL IN 1977 WOULD ALSO BE OBSERVED IN U.S. HE SAID ROMANIAN GROUP WOULD PARTICIPATE IN SMITHSONIAN FOLKLION FESTIVAL-BUT REGRETTED GOR STILL HAS NOT FOUND SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION FOR BULANDRA. (COMMENT: MITRAN SAID LATER THIS IS "NOT A CLOSED SUBJECT AND THAT AMB. BA NES WOULD TALK TO U.S. BUSINESS FIRMS ENGAGED IN ROMANIA ABOUT IT." END COMMENT.) IN CLOSING, GLIGA SAID HE SHARED VIEW EXPRESSED IN MR. HARTMAN'S STATEMENT

RE RELATIONSHIP OF AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM TO CSCE FINAL ACT.

7. SINCE MITRAN WAS REQUIRED TO ACCOMPANY GLIGA DURING APPOINTMENTS OUTSIDE TALKS, HE, MATACHE AND ROMANIAN EMBOFFS HAD HELD INFORMAL BUT VERY USEFUL PRELIMINARY MEETINGS WITH U.S. SIDE ON FEBRUARY 10. DURING THOSE MEETINGS, MITRAN ADDRESSED SAME POINTS AS GLIGA IN RESPONDING TO OUR CONCERNS. FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL ITEMS ARE NOTEWORTHY:

-- HOUSING: MFA WILL "INSIST" THAT BUCHAREST CITY COUNCIL PROVIDE BETTER HOUSING FOR AMERICAN GRANTEES, AND EXPECTS BUCHAREST MAYOR TO PROVIDE CONCRETE SOLUTION TO THESE PROBLEMS IN NEAR FUTURE.

-- COOPERATION WITH PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS: MITRAN SAID THAT MINED HAS POLICY NOT ONLY TO PERMIT, BUT TO PROMOTE SUCH COOPERATION. PAST PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS POLICY HAVE ARisen HOWEVER, PRIMARILY BECAUSE ROMANIAN INSTITUTIONS HAVE INSUFFICIENT QUALIFIED STAFF TO PERMIT LARGE NUMBERS TO GO ABROAD.

-- ACCESS TO ARCHIVES: WHILE NOT DOWN-PLAYING IMPORTANCE OF ROMANIAN SECURITY REGULATIONS, MITRAN SUGGESTED AMERICAN SCHOLARS BE MORE PRECISE IN THEIR PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS IN ORDER TO AVOID PROBLEMS OF ACCESS TO ARCHIVES.

-- DEADLINES: MITRAN SAID END OF FEBRUARY DEADLINE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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REGRETTABLY WILL NOT BE MET, BUT HE PERSONALLY BELIEVES NOMINATIONS WOULD BE RECEIVED BY END OF MARCH.

COMMENT: WE ADVISED MITRAN THAT NO GUARANTEEES OF PLACEMENTS COULD BE MADE FOR NOMINATIONS RECEIVED AFTER DEADLINE. END COMMENT.

-- SHORT-TERM VISITS: MITRAN WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN OUR WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE ROMANIANS FOR SHORT-TERM VISITS. COMMENT: WE POINTED OUT THAT CAREFUL PREPARATION IS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCH A PROGRAM, AND WE WOULD NEED TO KNOW DETAILS (AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION, LENGTH OF STAY, AND OBJECTIVES) AT LEAST TWO MONTHS IN ADVANCE OF ARRIVAL. END COMMENT.

-- 60-40 FORMULA: MITRAN QUICKLY PICKED UP OUR SUGGESTION THAT FIELDS SUCH AS MANAGEMENT, ECONOMICS, WORKER MOTIVATION, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION COULD BE USED TO A GREATER DEGREE SINCE THESE FIELDS WOULD NOT BE COUNTED AS PURE AND APPLIED SCIENCES, BUT WOULD STILL HELP MEET ROMANIA'S DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES.

8. REVIEW OF ARTICLE I WAS HELD MORNING OF FEB. 11,  
CHAIRED BY ROMANIAN EMBOFF PLOSCARU SIDE AND RICHMOND  
ON U.S. SIDE; HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW:

-- A. PLOSCARU SAID MINED INTENDS TO NOMINATE FOR FULL QUOTA OF 35 STUDENTS AND RESEARCHERS IN 1976-77 ACADEMIC YEAR; MINED NOMINATIONS WILL INCLUDE FOUR FROM MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE. RICHMOND STRESSED U.S. WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE NOMINATIONS IN FIELDS OF MANAGEMENT, TRADE, ECONOMIC PLANNING AND OTHER NON-SCIENTIFIC FIELDS PURSUANT TO 60-40 FORMULA. ALSO INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE SHORT-TERM LECTURERS IN SCIENTIFIC FIELDS.

-- B. ROMANIANS EXPRESSED PARTICULAR INTEREST IN OUR WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE ROMANIANS FOR SHORT-TERM VISITS, A SUGGESTION WE MADE IN ORDER TO CUT DOWN WEIGHT OF LONG-TERM ACADEMIC EXCHANGE. HOWEVER, AT THIS POINT, IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER ROMANIANS INTEND TO SUBSTITUTE SHORT-TERM FOR LONG-TERM ACADEMIC VISITS. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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CLARIFY THIS WITH MITRAN AND HOPE TO REACH UNDERSTANDING THAT LONG-TERM GRANTS WILL BE REDUCED IN FAVOR OF SHORT-TERM WHICH WOULD BE BETTER DESIGNED TO MEET ROMANIAN NEEDS (AND CU BUDGET REQUIREMENTS). IN ADDITION, SHIFT TO SHORTER GRANTS WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY PLANNED WITH CLEAR DEFINITION OF ROMANIAN OBJECTIVES, AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION, LENGTH OF STAY, AND PARTICIPANTS' QUALIFICATIONS PROVIDED TO US AT LEAST TWO MONTHS IN ADVANCE OF ARRIVAL.

-- C. RE DEFINITION OF ROMANIAN PRIORITIES, WE HAVE YET TO HEAR ANYTHING SUGGESTING THEY HAVE COME UP WITH AN "OPERATIONAL ONE". WE HAVE HEARD A GOOD BIT ABOUT ROMANIA'S DESIRE TO ACHIEVE "SCIENTIFIC, ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT", BUT THIS CHATTER HAS YET TO TRANSLATE ITSELF INTO SPECIFIC PROGRAMS.

-- D. PLOSCARU SAID IORGА CHAIR AT COLUMBIA WOULD BE FILLED THIS YEAR AND HISTORIAN WOULD BE SENT TO YALE. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED GOR APPROVALS FOR FIVE NOMINEES UNDER ARTICLES I AND II.

E. RICHMOND INFORMED ROMANIAN SIDE THAT CIES NEEDS FULLER DESCRIPTION OF REQUIREMENTS FOR ACADEMY OF ECONOMIC SCIENCES LECTURESHIP.

-- F. PLOSCARU WAXED ENTHUSIASTICALLY ABOUT PRIVATE DIRECT COOPERATION UNDER ARTICLE I. (6) AND CITED DARTMOUTH AND ILLINOIS AGREEMENTS. PROBLEMS EMBASSY

HAS EXPERIENCED WITH BOTH OF THESE WERE EXPLAINED TO PLOSCARU BY PAO FERNANDEZ. PLOSCARU ALSO SAID GOR INTERESTED IN U. MASS. ROMANIAN STUDIES CENTER AND WELCOMED ITS ESTABLISHMENT. HE ALSO POINTED OUT U. BUCHAREST PROGRAM WITH COUNCIL FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY. HE SAID MANKATO COLLEGE IS SEEKING A AGREEMENT WITH CLUJ. (COMMENT: PAO FERNANDEZ WILL CALL MANKATO TO DISCUSSTHIS. END COMMENT.) PLOSCARU CITED POSSIBLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN JOHNS HOPKINS AND INSTITUTE OF CONSTRUCTION ON WHICH WE WILL SEEK MORE DETAIL. HE SAID NEBRASKA AND IOWA STATE AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS OF VITAL INTEREST TO GOR; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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HOWEVER, U.S. UNIVERSITIES UNABLE TO FINANCE. (COMMENT: WE ARE PURSUING THIS DIRECTLY WITH UNIVERSITIES, AND ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER CANDIDATES INAGRICULTURE UNDER ARTICLE I, IF MINED WILL NOMINATE.)

-- G. RE DECREE 95, WE HAVE FOUND ROMANIANS VERY DEFENSIVE IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT IT. PLOSCARU TOLD US IT IS A "DOMESTIC DECREE AND DOES NOT SIGNAL ANY CHANGES IN THE ROMANIAN SOCIAL SYSTEM", WHICH STILL DID NOT PROVIDE ASSURANCES WE SEEK. MITRAN PROVIDED THESE IN DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE II ON FEBRUARY 12 WHEN HE STATED IT APPLIES "ONLY TO PERSONS WHO GO ABROAD AS SALARIED EMPLOYEES AND NOT TO THOSE HOLDING FELLOWSHIPS." MATACHE GAVE SIMILAR ASSURANCES TO IREX ON MONDAY.

-- H. RE EXTENSIONS, PLOSCARU EXPLAINED GOR INSISTENCE UPON HAVING GRANTEES RETURN PERTAINS TO COUNTRY'S "LABOR POLICY" AND THAT THEY ARE NEEDED AT HOME FOR PRODUCTION DUTIES WHEN GOR TURNS DOWN EXTENSION. EVIDENT THAT APPROVAL OF ROMANIAN SPONSORING INSTITUTION STILL REQUIRED HENCE, NO CHANGE IN POLICY. RICHMOND POINTED OUT THAT PROBLEMS ARISE WHEN GOR OR ITS EMBASSY FAILS TO PROVIDE DECISION RE EXTENSION OR REFUSAL ON TIME AND THAT GRANTEE CAN FALL "OUT OF STATUS" CREATING IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS.

-- I. RE DEADLINES, BOTH SIDES AGREED THEY ARE REALISTIC, ALTHOUGH ROMANIAN SIDE DOES NOT EXPECT TO HAVE NOMINATIONS READY UNTIL LATE MARCH--DESPISE END OF FEBRUARY DEADLINE IN IMPLEMENTING CONDITIONS. WE CAUTIONED THAT NO GUARANTEES OF PLACEMENTS COULD BE MADE FOR NOMINATIONS RECEIVED AFTER DEADLINE.

J. RE ARTICLE I (8) PROVISION FOR CONFERENCE, PLOSCARU RAISED IT AT CLOSE OF SESSION AND EXPLAINED ROMANIAN SIDE WISHES TO HOLD SYMPOSIUM IN BUCHAREST

WITH AMERICAN SPECIALISTS TO DISCUSS "INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION AND PRODUCTION. WE FORESEE SOME FUNDING PROBLEMS ON OUR SIDE WITH THIS BUT ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER IT, FOR FY 77 UNDER RECIPROCAL PROGRAM WHERE RECEIVING SIDE PAYS IN-COUNTRY COSTS.

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-- K. PLOSCARU SAID GOR WELCOMED U.S.-ROMANIAN HISTORIANS SEMINAR AT BOULDER NEXT AUTUMN ORGANIZED BY PROFESSOR FISCHER-GALATI, HE SAID ROMANIAN SIDE IS INTERESTED IN HAVING THEIR PARTICIPANTS ALSO GO TO WAYNE STATE FOR SEMINAR ORGANIZED BY PROFESSOR RICARD BURKS WHILE THEY ARE IN COUNTRY.

-- L. DISCUSSION OF HOUSING AND ACCESS PROBLEMS REVEALED NOTING NEW IN ROMANIAN POSITION; HOWEVER, PLOSCARU READ LETTER FROM MINED SAYING THAT FULBRIGHT LECTURER HERBERT IZZO AD MADE HOSTILE STATEMENTS ABOUT ROMANIA AND SOUGHT TO INTRODUCE "COLD WAR" LITERATURE IN ONE OF HIS COURSES. PLOSCARU REPORTED THIS IN HIS CUSTOMARILY BLUNTFASHION BUT DID NOT SEEK TO MAKE DEVISIVE POINT ABOUT IT. IN FACT, HE ONLY RAISED THIS MATTER WHEN WE BROUGHT UP HOUSING PROBLEMS OF HINDEN, IZZO, MOSKOFF ET AL.

9. RE IOWA PROGRAM, PLOSCARU CITED KEOUGH-POPESCU TALKS LAST MAY AND CATALOGUE OF RESERVATIONS ROMANIAN SIDE HAS EXPRESSED A 60 OUT PROGRAM TO EM6ASSY IN PAST. WE TABLED WITH ROMANIANS THE THREE ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS FOR A WRITERS' PROGRAM AS DISCUSSED WITH WRITERS UNION PRESIDENT TEODORESCU LAST DECEMBER; ROMANIAN SIDE TOOK NOTE.

10. WE ASKED ROMANIAN SIDE TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER M.J. GAL, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ROMANIAN STATE ARCHIVES WOULD ACCEPT INVITATION FROM U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES TO ATTEND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ARCHIVES IN WASHINGTON SEPTEMBER 27-OCTOBER 1, 1976, PURSUANT TO ARTICLE III. (9). ROMANIAN SIDE SAID THEY WOULD LOOK INTO THIS.

11. WE UNDERSTAND GLIGA IS TRAVELING DIRECTLY FROM WASHINGTON TO WARSAW FOR THE LOS CONFERENCE, LEAVING HERE FEBRUARY 14. MITRAN IS RETURNING TO BUCHAREST FEBRUARY 15. KISSINGER

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**Capture Date:** 15 SEP 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 FEB 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** morefirh  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE036193  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EMB. BUCHAREST:AFERNANDEZ/EUR/EE:TPHDUNLOP:LG  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D760055-1145  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t197602103/baaaaeodg.tel  
**Line Count:** 320  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** morefirh  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <03 MAY 2004 by woolfihd>; APPROVED <01 JUL 2004 by morefirh>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MID-TERM EXCHANGES REVIEW:/ARTICLE I AND III  
**TAGS:** OEXC, RO  
**To:** BUCHAREST  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006